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ABSTRACT

This paper describes and analyzes the complementation patter of Hausa aspectual verbs, examining some instances of aspectual verb complementation that have not been addressed in previous research. It attempts to show that, syntactically, the phenomenon of Control in this type of complementation exists in Hausa. It demonstrates that the relationship between the embedded subject and that of the matrix predicate can be analyzed as involving either that of Control or Raising. Contains 28 references. (MDM)

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COMPLEMENTATION OF HAUSA ASPECTUAL VERBS*

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Abstract: This paper presents a syntactic description of Hausa aspectual verbs which are traditionally called 'auxiliary verbs' (cf. Jaggar 1977, Tuller 1986 and the references cited there). The paper addresses only a few facts that have not been given much attention in prior descriptions such as Jaggar 1977 and Tuller 1986. Some data that seem to show some constraints that exist between the aspectual verbs and the embedded complement is presented. It is shown that the relationship between the embedded subject and that of the matrix predicate can be analysed as involving either that of Control or Raising (cf. Perlmutter 1970, Postal 1974, and Newmeyer 1975).[1]

1. Introduction.

In Hausa there is a set of verbal elements that are given names in syntactic descriptions, such as auxiliary verbs (Jaggar 1977), indeterminate verbs (Parsons 1981:2 vol.2), or aspectual and modal verbs (Tuller 1986 and the references cited there). In this paper I will call them aspectual verbs (AVs). These verbal elements may appear to be raising verbs in some cases, while not in others. The subject of the complement clause of aspectual verbs in Hausa can either be arbitrary or referential, depending on the syntactic, discourse, and pragmatic factors. Aspectual verbs in Hausa express some verbal activity such as "initiation, cessation, continuation, repetition, etc. They all take VP or gerund-NP complements. A list of these verbs is given in (1) below:

(1)

AVs.	Meanings.	AVs.	Meanings.
barî	'stop doing/leave	cikâ	'do too much'
dadâ	'repeat/do again'	dainâ	'stop/cease do'
dingâ	'keep on doing'	dâmu (da)	be bothered

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dôsâ	keep on doing	fayê/fiyâ	do too much
fârâ	start/begin	fâsâ	postpone/fail
gamâ	finish/complete	isâ	be capable
iyâ	be able/can	kâmâ	start/begin doing
ƙârâ	repeat/do again	ƙârê	finsh doing
kâsâ	fail/be unable to	kômâ	return/go back
kumâ	repeat/do again	kusa	about to/almost
nêmâ	try/seek to	rabu (da)	not do as usual
ragê	do less as before	rasâ	be unable to do
rikâ	keep on doing	sâbâ (da)	be used to doing
sâkê	repeat/do again	sâmâ	manage/succeed
sômâ	start/begin	shâ	do often/much
shigâ	set about/begin/start/take on doing sth.		
taɓâ	never/ever do	târâ	share doing
tâsâ	set about/begin/start/take steps toward doing sth.		
tsayâ	persist in/stick to doing sth./persevere/be adamant		
yi ta	keep doing (iteration).		

The syntactic function and behavior of these verbs in Hausa have received considerable attention. For instance, Parsons (1981) mentions that these verbs take dynamic, abstract, adverbial nouns, or nominal clause objects. They have general concepts of verbal modality and their lexical exponents indicate (a) single punctual actions, (b) repetitive punctual actions, or (c) durative actions. Pilszczikowa (1960) also claims that these verbs may function as auxiliary verbs taking (a) no complement, (b) noun complement, (c) verbal noun complement, or (d) a verbal theme complement. The verbal complement may be headed by a so-called "primary" verbal noun while, the nominal complement may contain a so-called "secondary" verbal noun, action noun, or other kinds of nominal expressions denoting action/activity or processes. Semantically, aspectual verbs tend to modify some verb or verbal activity/event in the complement clause-hence one of the reasons they are assumed to have no independent semantic role. The VP complement in particular may be assigned a compositional theta role (Tuller 1986). Thus, in (2):

(2) a. Aabu tā sō [NP wankè tukunyā]
Aabu 3fs-pst. like wash pot
'Aabu wanted to wash a pot'

b. Audu yā cè [IP Aabù tā tàfi --
Audù 3ms-pst. say Aabù 3fs-pst. go
[NP wankè tukunyā]]
wash pot
'Audu said (that) Aabù went to wash the pot'

c. Aabù tā daina [NP wankè tukunyā]
Aabù she-pst. stop/cease wash pot
'Aabu stopped washing the pot'

d. [e] yà yìwu [IP Aabù tā ----
it 3ms-2fut. be possible/likely Aabù she-pst.
fāra [NP wankè tukunyā]]
start/begin wash pot
'It is possible (that) Aabù started/began washing
the pot'

the underlying Activity/Event in all these sentences is Aabu s washing a pot. However, If we look at the surface syntax of Hausa aspectual verbs, it seems that they are more likely to function as Control verbs than Raising verbs. This is so because in Hausa there is no distinction between the gerund V-ing and infinitive. And the majority of these verbs do not allow lexical subjects in their complement. The few that do allow lexical subjects or null pronominal NP (Pro), only do so when the complement clause is subjunctive.[2] Furthermore, none of these verbs can take tensed complements. It is then clear that these verbs require argument subjects and may be treated as Control verbs. This fact is supported by their inability to occur in contexts like those in (3), whereas, they can occur in contexts like those in (4):

(3) a. *Audu yā dingà[CP (wai)[IP Pro/Bàlā yà tàfi]]
Audu he-pst. keep on (that) he/Bàlā he-subj. leave
'Audu kept on (that) he/Bàlā should leave'

b. *Audù yā fārà [CP Ø [IP Pro yā aurē tà]]
Audù he-pst. start/begin he-pst. marry her
'Audu he started/began he married her

c. *Pro a-n sōmà [IP Pro à yi ruwā]
Imp.-pst. begin/start Imp-subj. do rain
'Some(one/people) started to rain' = meaning
'It started/began to rain'

(4) a. Audù yā dingà [VP gayâ ma-tà[IP Pro tà tafi]]
Audù he-pst keep on telling) to-her she-subj. leave
'Audù kept (on) telling her to leave/go'

b. Audu yā fārà [VP karanta littāfi-n]
Audu he-pst. start/begin read book-ref.
'Audù started/began reading/to read the book'

c. Audù yā sōmà [NP kàrātu-n littāfi-n]
Audù he-pst. start/begin reading-of book-ref.
'Audù began/started reading the book'

d. [IP Pro a-n sōmà [NP (yi-n) ruwā jiyà]]
Imp.-pst. begin/start (doing-of) rain yesterday
'It started/began raining yesterday'
'It started/began to rain yesterday'

Another issue in the description of Hausa aspectual verbs that has not received much attention is cases where a clause may contain aspectual verbs "stacked" together (to use Tuller's term). For instance, a modal verb may appear after or before an aspectual verb with a slight difference in the meaning of the EVENT/ACTIVITY contained in the complement. Consider the contrast in (5a & b) and (6a & b):

(5) a. Audù zà-i fārà [iyà ---
Audù Ifut.-he begin/start be able
[NP (yin) kàrâtū cikin watâ ɗaya]]
(doing-of) reading in month one
'Audù will start to have the ability to read in one month'

b. Audù zâ-i iyà [fārà ----
Audù 1fut-he be able begin/start
[NP (yìn) kàrâtū cikin watâ ɗaya]]
(doing) reading in month one
'Audù will be able to start reading/to read in one month'

(6) a. Pro nā san zà-i fārà [daina ---
1s-pst. know 1fut-he begin/start stop/cease
[NP (yìn) kàrâtū kâfin mū]]
(doing) reading before we
'I knew he will start to stop reading before us (=we do)'

b. Pro nā san zà-i daina [fārà ----
I-pst. know 1fut-he stop begin
[NP (yìn) kàrâtū kâfin mū]]
(doing) reading before we
'I knew he will stop to begin reading/to read before we do'

c. Kwāna-n nan Audùi zà-i fārà ---
days-of here Audù fut-he begin

[ci gaba dà [VP faɗâ wà Balāj [IP Proj yà fārà -
continue with telling to Bàlā he-subj. begin

[NP (yi-n) tùnâni-n [CP lōkàcî-n da ----
(doing-of) thinking-of time-def. Comp.

[IP Proj/i zà-i iyà [fārà ----
fut-he be able start
[NP gini-n gida-n-sàj/i]]]]]]]]
building-of house-of-him
'Soon Audù will start/begin to continue telling Bàlā to start thinking about the time when he will be able to start building his house'

In (5) for instance, the (a) example indicates it is *Audù's* ability to start reading that is stressed while, in the (b) example it is

the starting of the activity of the reading that is stressed. In other words, the (a) example shows certainty in the mind of the speaker while the (b) example indicates just a prediction of Audu's ability which may or may not materialize. Such stacking of modal and aspectual predicates can also be found in negative constructions as exemplified in the following sentences:

(7) a. Audu bâ zâ-i iya sāke fāra ------
Audu neg. Ifut.-he be able repeat begin/start
[NP (yi-n) karâtū kâfin mū ba]
(doing-of) reading before we neg.
'Audu will not be able to repeat starting the reading before us' (i.e. before we begin the reading)

b. Audu bâ zâ-i iya sāke kāra -------
Audu neg. Ifut.-he be able repeat do again
[NP (yi-n) karâtū kâfin mū ba]
(doing-of) reading before we neg.
'Audu will not be able to repeat doing the reading again before us'

c. Audu bâ zâ-i kāra sākè ------
Audu neg. Ifut.-he do again repeat
[NP (yi-n) karâtū kâfin mū ba]
(doing-of) reading before we neg.
'Audu will never again repeat the reading before us

d. Audu bâ zâ-i iya kāra sākè ------
Audu neg. Ifut.-he be able do again repeat
[NP (yi-n) karâtū kâfin mū ba]
(doing-of) reading before we neg.
'Audu will never be able to repeat again the reading before us'

e. Audu bâ zâ-i sākè ci-gaba dà -------
Audu neg. Ifut.-he repeat continue with
[NP (yi-n) karâtū kâfin mū ba]
(doing-of) reading before we neg.
'Audu will never again continue with the reading before us'

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f. Audù bâ zâ-i ƙāra ci-gaba da ---
Audù neg.1fut.-he do again continue with
fārà [NP (yi-n) kârātū kâfin mū ba]
begin/start (doing-of) reading before we neg.
'Audù will not ever continue with the initiation of the reading before us (i.e. before our act of the reading)

2. Verb/Verbal Noun Delition in the Complement Clause.

I now turn to some facts about the syntax and semantics of aspectual verbs which have not been talked about by Jaggar (1977) with the exception of the use of "Pro-form" *haka* page 84-5 or Tuller (1986). These are cases where verbal element(s) in the complement of the aspectual verbs can be left out entirely or replaced by a resumptive verb *YI* "do". Note that, in this paper I am not concerned with the controversy of whether the verb YI is inserted or deleted at D-/S-structure (cf. Jaggar (1977:75-80) for yi-deletion and Tuller (1986, 1987) who argues against such a rule due to recoverability condition of GB Theory). Consider the examples in (8) illustrating some instances of this process:

(8) a. Mamman Shâtâ yā fārà [VP (rērà) Bakandamiyā]
Mamman S. he-pst. begin sing Bakandamiyā
'Mamman Shâtâ began singing Bakandamiyā a while ago'

b. Audù yā gama [VP (nōmà) gōna-ɾ-sa ɗāzun nan]
Audù he-pst. finished till farm-of-him a while ago
'Audù finshed tilling his farm a while ago'

c. Audù yā kusa gamà [NP (nōman) gōna-ɾ-sà]]
Audù he-pst about to finished tilling farm-of-him
'Audù almost finished tilling his farm by now'

d. Lādi tā dainà [VP (dafà) àbinci dà shâ biyu-n rāna]
Lādi she-pst. stop cook food at twelve-of day
'Lādi stopped cooking lunch at twelve mid-day'

In all these sentences the verb in parentheses (and the verbal noun in (c)) may be left out and, the sense of the ACTIVITY carried out in the complement is still retained. However, not just any verbal element can be omitted. Most of the verbal elements that can be omitted involve verbs/verbal nouns or nominals that express either a phyisical ACTIVITY, ACT of SAYING, verbs that show person's OCCUPATION or someone holding a POSITION/TITTLE. Some of these activity verbals include dafâ 'cook', ɗinkâ 'sew', faɗâ 'say', faskarâ chop wood, fàskarē 'chopping wood, ginà 'to build, ginī building, gyārâ 'repair', karàntā 'to read', kàrâtū 'reading, kērâ 'smith/make, kīrâ 'smithing', matsayī status/position, mùkāmi 'position/status', rubûtâ 'to write', rùbûtū writing', sākâ 'weave', sārē 'cut off', sassakā 'do carpentry, shā 'drink', tārâ 'collect together, tattārā 'collect together', etc. Note that when the verbal element is omitted, the object of the verb must be retained. The sentences in (9) illustrate more of the instances of the verbal omission:

(9) a. Mātà-n sun gamà [VP (ɗinkà/sākà) tùmâkasan]
women-def. they finished sew/weave food-cover
'The women finished (sewing/weaving) the food-cover'

b. Aabù tā fārà [NP (fàɗa-r̄) lâbārì-n]
Aabù she-pst. start/begin telling-of story-ref.
'Aabù started (telling) the story'

c. Pro nā ci gàba dà [VP (karànta) Ruwan Bagajā yàu]
1pl-pst. continue with read Ruwan Bagajā today
'I continued (reading/to read) Ruwan Bagajā today'

d. Shēhù$_i$ yā dainà [NP (sàrautà-r̄) ----
Shēhù he-pst. cease/stop chieftainship-of
Gàlâdīmâ à Kanô]
Gàlâdīmâ in Kanô
'Shēhù ceased (being/ruling) as the Gàlâdīmâ in Kanô'

In these sentences, it is natural to omit the elements in the parentheses since the objects are the prototypical objects of the

omitted elements (cf. Dixon 1991). Similarly, this omission is only possible in cases where the information or activity expressed in the complement is known by the addressee. If the addressee cannot determine the type of action or is unable to infer the information about the agent of the action, such omission is not possible. Furthermore, the activity must be known (by the interlocutors) to be the type which the matrix agent is known to do on a regular basis. In other words, the matrix agent must be the same as that of the complement. With verbs like *sò* 'like/want/love, *sayaŕ (dà)* 'sell', *màntā* 'forget, *màllakâ* 'possess', etc., such verbal omission is impossible, since these verbs are virtually unrestricted in the types of complements they can take. To see this consider these examples:

(10) a. Lādi tā sō [VP/NP *(gina/gini-n) gida-n-ta]
Lādi she-pst. like build/building-of house-of-her
'Lādi liked (to build/building) her house'

b. Aabù tā màntā dà [NP *(dība-n/kwāshè) ---
Aabù she-pst forgot with dipping out-of/removing
bùlâ-n ...]
blocks-ref
'Aabù forgot (dipping out/removing) the blocks ...

c. Sōjōjī-n sun ki [VP *(ɪ tsallàkà) ---
soldiers-def. they-pst. refuse/hate jumping over
gadà-ŕ]
bridge-ref.
'The soldiers refused/hated (to jump/jumping over)
the bridge'

These examples illustrate the fact that we cannot omit the verb in the complement if the matrix agent is not known by the addressee to do such kind of activity. However, we can omit the verbs in the complements of sentences in (11) due to prior knowledge of the kind of inherent activity done by the matrix agent:[3]

(11) a. Bĭrkilàn¡ yā ʃārà [NP/VP (dĭbà-n/kwāshē)--
brick-layer he-pst. begin taking-of/removing
bùlà-n]
blocks-ref.
'The brick-layer started (taking/removing) the blocks'

b. Shātā yā ʃārà [VP/NP (rērà)/(wāƙa-ř) ---
Shātā he-pst. begin/start sing/song-of
Bàkandamiyā]
Bàkandamiyā]
'Shātā began/started (singing) the Bakandamiyā (song)'

c. Mātā-t-ā tā gamà[VP (daʃa/gĭřkı-n)--
wife-of-me she-pst. finish cooking/cooking-of
àbinci-n rāna]
food-of-day
'My wife finished (cooking) lunch'
#My wife finished *eating* lunch'

Note that when the verb in (11c) is ommitted, the sentence does not mean "my wife finished eating the food". To get this meaning the verb should be followed by the associative preposition da to form the complex verb *gamà da* 'finshed with' (see next paragraph).

Another feature of aspectual verbs that is not discussed by Tuller (1986) and is mentioned only in passing in a footnote by Jaggar (1977) is their ability to take a complement introduced by the preposition *dà* with'. The meaning of the activity/event in this complement is different from the one without the preposition. Not all of the aspectual verbs listed in (1) above can take this associative preposition. Consider the examples in (12).

(12) a. Lādi tā fārâ [pp da [vp (dafà) abinci---
Lādi she began with (cooking-of) food
kâfin/bāyan ....]]
before/after
'Lādi began with the cooking of the food
after/before .....'

b. Dâlibà-ni sun fārâ [pp da [vp (karanta) --
students-def. they-pst. began with (read)
Ruwan Bagajā kâfin .....]]
Ruwan Bagajā before
'The students began with the reading of Ruwan
Bagajā before..'

The complements in these examples describe an event/activity which the agent of the action has done or is going to do before or after undertaking another activity. That is why the complement is usually followed by a temporal clause. Some of the aspectual verbs that take this kind of complement are the following:

(13)

AVs.	Meanings.	AVs.	Meanings.
dadâ (dà)	repeat/do again	dâmu (dà)	'be bothered'
fārâ (dà)	start/begin	gamâ (dà)	finish/complete
kārâ (dà)	repeat/do again	kārē (dà)	finsh doing
kōmâ (dà)	return/go back	kusa (dà)	about to/almost
rābu (dà)	not do as usual	sābâ (dà)	be used to doing
sōmâ (dà)	start/begin doing		
tāshi (dà)	set about/begin/start/take steps toward doing sth.		
tsayâ (dà)	persist in/stick to doing sth./persevere/be adamant		

Some aspectual verbs can also be used with a grade change to give a change in meaning. Note that there are seven grades of verbs in Huasa and such a grade system is used in to classify verbs into morphologically distinct forms on the basis of of final termination either in vowel or vowel followed by a consonant and tonal pattern. The termination of the verb

determines the kind of object it may take. Most aspectual verbs are of grade I or IV, but a few appear in grade II. Two such verbs are *fârâ* and *sômâ* Their use is illustrated in the following:

(14) a. Rumfa yâ fâri [NP gini-n gânuwâ a Kanô]
Rumfa he-pst. start building-of city-wall in Kanô
'Rumfa initiated the building of Kanô wall'

b. [CPWâ$_i$ [IP t$_i$ ya sômi [NP kâma gwagwârê ---
who he began catch unmarried
a gari-n nan]]]?
at town-of this
'Who initiated the catching of gwagwârê (unmarried people) in this town'?

Another issue in this section involves instances where the aspectual verbs occur in intransitive constructions. Here, the surface agent in the matrix clause expresses/describes an ACTIVITY, EVENT or STATE. Consider the examples in (15):

(15) a. Wâsâ yâ tâshi [CP bâyan [IP fadâ yâ barkê --
game it-pst. end after fight it-pst. bust
a biki-n]]
at ceremony-ref.
'The games/play ended after the fight broke out at the ceremony'

b. kishi-n Aabù yâ fârâ [CP lôkaci-n dà -----
jealousy-of Aabù 3ms. began time-def. Comp.
[IP Pro ta ga miji-n-tà târe dà Râbi]]
she-pst. see husband-of-her together with Râbi
'Aabù's jealousy began when she saw her husband with Râbi'

It will be interesting to find out if these sentences involve any syntactic raising of the subject of the complement clause to the matrix subject position. I turn to this issue now.

3. Possibilities for Raising to Matrix Subject Position.

As I mentioned earlier, there are very few modal auxiliary verbs that take complement sentences. The sentences in (16) are therefore impossible where the senential subject is either at its D-structure position or extraposed:

(16) a. *[CP cèwā [IP Audù yā gamà aikì]] yā fārâ
that Audù he-pst. finish work it-pst. begin
'That Audù finished the work has began'

b. *[CP cèwā [IP Aabù zā ta àuri Ali]] yā ---
that Audù fut-she marry Ali it-pst.
kusa
almost/near
'That Aabu will marry Ali is near/almost'

c. *Audù$_i$ yā cī-gaba da [IP t$_i$ yà zama wāwā]
Audù he-pst. continue with he-subj. become idiot
'Audu continued to be an idiot'

d. *[e] yā fārâ [CP cèwā [IP Audù yā gamà aikì]]
3ms-pst. begin/start that Audù he-pst. finish work
'It began/started that Audù has finished work'

e. *[e] yā kusa [CP cèwā [IP Aabù zā tà àuri Ali]]
3ms-pst. almost/near that Audù fut-she marry Ali
'It is almost near (i.e. the time) that Aabù will marry Ali'

An existential NP cannot occur as subject of these verbs as the following examples show:

(17) a. *Akwai fāra [NP rūdāmi-n siyāsâ à Najēriyâ]
there's begin confusion-of politics in Nigeria
'There is an initiation of political confusion in Nigeria'

b. 'Akwai daina [NP sāmu-n dāma-ř nasarâ ---
there's cease getting-of chance-of victory
a wâsà-n]
in games-ref.
'There cease to be a chance for victory in the games

Another class of sentences that seem not to allow raising of the embedded complement is the impersonal passive (a construction where the the person acting as the subject of the sentence is not expressed). The examples in (18) are all impossible sentences in Hausa (note the final vowel of **amincē** which indicates the form it takes with direct object noun in (18a) and also the passive forms of the verbs meaning 'be believed', of the sentence in (18b)):

(18) a. 'Pro sun amincè Audu$_i$ [IP t$_i$ ya zama sařki]
they-pst. believe Audù he-subj. become emir
'They believed Audù to be the Emir'

b. 'Audu$_i$ yā amintu/yařdu [CP (dà) -------
Audù he-pst. be believe ??
[IP t$_i$ yà zama sařkī]]
he-subj. be/become emir
'Audu was/is believed to be the Emir

As we can see from these examples impersonal passive cannot be expressed as in (18b). The only way to render a impersonal passive construction in Hausa is to use an impersonal subject with the subject of the complement in its D-structure position or realised as a dative object of the matrix predicate as illustrated in (19):

(19) a. Pro a-n amincē [CP (cèwā) ----
Imp-pst. believe/agree/permit that
[IP Audù yà zama sařkī]]
Audù he-subj. be/become emir
'It is/was believed/permitted that Audù become
Emir'

b. Pro an amincē **wà** Audu$_i$ ------
Imp-pst. believe **dat**. Audù

[$_{CP}$ (dà/cèwā) [$_{IP}$ t$_i$ yà zama sarkī]
that he-subj. be/become emir
'Audù is/was believed/permitted that he be Emir'
'Audù is/was permitted/allowed to become the Emir'

The presence of a complementizer in (19b) clearly shows that Audù is not the subject of the complement. Nor is it the derived object of the matrix predicate. This dative object can be focussed or questioned as in (20):

(20) a. [$_{CP}$ Audù$_i$ (nē) [$_{IP}$ Pro$_j$ a-kà amincē wa t$_i$ --
Audù cop. Imp-rel.-pst. believe dat.
[$_{CP}$ (dà) [$_{IP}$ Pro$_i$ yà zama sarkī]]]]
that he-subj. be/become emir
'It is/was Audù who was/is permitted to be the Emir'

b. [$_{CP}$ wâ$_i$ [$_{IP}$ Pro$_j$ a-kà amincē wa t$_i$ ---
who Imp-rel-pst. believe dat.
[$_{CP}$ (dà) [$_{IP}$ Pro$_i$ yà zama sarkī]]]]
that he-subj. be/become emir
'Who was/is believed/permitted to become the Emir'?

If we insist on raising analysis, then a sentence like (21) below would have either of the deep structures in (b-c) both with null INFL in the complement clauses. And to arrive at the surface structure, we need to do at least two operations. If the structure in (b) is the deep structure, then we have to introduce a rule that inserts the appropriate subject agreement clitic. If however structure (c) is assumed, all we need to do is to move the subject Audù to the matrix subject position deriving (22):

(21) a. Audù yā fāra [$_{NP}$ (yi-n) kūkā]
Audù he-pst. begin/start (doing-of) crying
'Audù began crying'

b. [[e] fārà [I'' Audù [I' [I Ø] [VP/NP yî-n kūkā]]]]
c. [[e] yā fārà [I'' Audù [I' [I Ø] [VP/NP yî-n kūkā]]]]

(22) Audù$_i$ yā fārà [I'' t$_i$ [I' [I Ø [VP/NP yî-n kūkā]]]]
Audù he-pst. begin doing-of crying
'Audù began crying'

But as Tuller (1986:489) correctly claims there is no problem with this derivation, since the object in the embedded VP/NP can gets its Case from the genitive linker **-n**, meaning 'of', which links two nouns (either simple nouns or verbal nouns) to form one complex nominal phrase. But where there is no Case assigner the object NP cannot get Case violating Case filter. Even if the verb **fārâ** is able to assign Case, such Case will percolate only to the head of IP. And it will remain there since the INFL lacks any lexical element (AGR or TNS) to transmit the Case down to the object.

Furthermore, one might argue that the subject complements of the aspectual verbs like those in (15) above are raised from their D-structure positions (indicated with a trace of the raised NP) in either (23) or (24) below due to the inability of the aspectual verbs to assign a theta role to these NPs. The problem with this analysis is the fact that the subject positions of some of these sentences may be theta positions. If this is so, then this movement will be a violation of the theta criterion.[4] In fact the meanings of the sentences in (15) is different from those in (23-24) which are actually ungrammatical with the intended meanings of those sentences in (15):

(23) a. [e] a-n **tāshi** (yî-n) wâsâ-n [CP bāyan -
Imp.-pst. set about doing-of game-ref. after
[IP fadâ yā ɓarkē à bikî-n]]]]
fight it-pst. burst/break at ceremony-ref.
'They/someone (prepared to) get involved in playing the game after the fight has started/broken out at the ceremony'

b. *Pro* suᵢ-n **tāshi** wâsà-n [CP bāyan
they-pst. set about doing games-def. after
[IP faɗâ yā ɓarkē à bikî-n]]]]
fight it-pst. burst/brake at ceremony-ref.
'They set about to play the games after the fighting broke out at the ceremony'

c. ***mutânē*** suᵢ-n **tāshi** (yi-n) wâsà-n -----
people they-pst. get into doing-of games-def.
[CP bāyan[IP faɗâ yā ɓarkē à bikî-n]]]]
after fight it-pst burst/brake at ceremony-ref
'Some people/they are about to <u>begin</u> the games just after the fighting has broken out at the ceremony'

d. mutânē su-n **tāshi** [PP dàgà wâsà-n ---
people they-pst. end doing from games-ref.
[CP bāyan [IP faɗâ yā ɓarkē à bikî-n]]]]
after fight it-pst burst/brake at ceremony-ref
'Some people/they <u>have left</u> from (the activity of) the games after fighting has broken out at the ceremony'

(23)' a. Pro a-n **tâshi** wâsà-n[CP bāyan
Imp-pst. set about doing/end games-ref. after
[IP faɗâ yā ɓarkē à bikî-n]]]]
fight it-pst. burst/brake at ceremony-ref.
'Some people/they <u>got into/ended</u> the games after the fighting has broken out at the ceremony
#The games was stopped after a fight has broken out at the ceremony'

b. mutânē su-n **tâshi** wâsà-n
people they-pst. set about doing/end games-ref.
[CP bāyan [IP faɗâ yā ɓarkē à bikî-n]]]]
after fight it-pst burst/brake at ceremony-ref
'People <u>got into/ended</u> (the activity of) the games after the fighting has broken out at the ceremony

c. mutânē sun **tâshi** [NP yi-n] wâsà-n ---
people they-pst. set about doing-of games-ref.
[CP bāyan [IP fadâ yā ɓarkē à biki-n]]]]
after fight it-pst burst/brake at ceremony-ref
'People have just decided to get into the games/play after the fighting has broken out at the ceremony'

d. ?**wâsà-n**$_i$ yā **tâsu** t$_i$ [CP bāyan ---
games it-pst. get into doing after
[IP fadâ yā ɓarkē à biki-n]]]]
fight it-pst. burst/brake out at ceremony-ref.
'The games ended/was stopped after the fighting has broken out at the ceremony'

(24) a. Pro yā fārâ kīshi-n Aabù -----
3ms-pst. begin jealousy-of Aabù
[CP lōkàci-n da[IP Pro ta ga miji-n-ta ---
time-def. Comp. 3fs-rel-pst. see husband-of-her
târe dà Rābi]]
together with Rābi
'Aabu's jealousy began when she saw her husband with Rābi'

b. ?kīshi-n Aabu$_i$ yā **ci-gàba** t$_i$ ---
jealousy-of Aabù it-pst. continue
[CP lōkàci-n dà [IP Pro ta ga miji-n-ta ------
time-def. Comp. 3fs-rel-pst see husband-of-her
târe dà Rābi]]
together with Rābi
'Aabu's jealousy continued when she saw her husband with Rābi'

c. *kīshi-n Aabù$_i$ yā **dàinu** t$_i$ [CP lōkàci-n da
jealousy-of Aabù it-pst. cease/stop time-def. Comp
[IP Pro ta ga miji-n-tà târe dà Rābi]]
3fs-rel-pst see husband-of-her together with Rābi
'Aabu's jealousy ceased/stopped when she saw her husband with Rābi'

It is for this reason that I am assuming that this position could be regarded as an argument position and also a theta-position. Note that there is no ambiguity in interpretation of (23a). The sentence in (23a) exemplifies an active impersonal sentence in which "a" + (TNS) appears to function as an identifier of a subject with arbitrary reference, roughly equivalent in interpretation to arbitrary PRO or 'one' of English or 'on' of French and similar pronouns in other Romance languages (see Jaeggli 1986; Rizzi 1986, and Hyams 1983, 1986). I would like to propose that this "a" , the impersonal marker, functions in the same way as the definite pronominal clitics and that the feature [+/- specified] should be included (in Hausa) as one of the identifiers of Pro (see Tuller 1982,1984, 1987, and Yalwa 1992). To conclude this section, we have so far observed that Hausa aspectual verbs can take different types of complements (as discussed above), including some complements that indicate the state of a situation or event.[5] I will now turn to the issue of Control in relation to the position of the subject of the complement clause of these verbs.

4. The Null Subject of the Complement of Aspectual Verbs

With regard to the issue of Control of the null argument of the complement of infinitive and gerund clauses, Manzini (1983) argues that big PRO is a pure anaphor. She outlines numerous important properties of PRO that a Control theory must account for. She proposes that when PRO happens to occur in a sentential complement, it must be coreferential with the subject or with the object of the matrix clause. Bouchard (1984) on the other hand argues that PRO is either a pronoun or an anaphor depending on the context. That is, in essence, Control theory is derivable from the binding theory (also cf. Chomsky 1981, 1982, 1986; Borer 1983, 1988; Lebeaux 1984). I don't intend to summarize the issues raised in these works, but rather to show that the subject of the NP/VP complement of Hausa aspectual verbs may be the empty category, big PRO while, that of the aspectual verbs taking IP complement is the so called small Pro.[6]

Let me first begin with the discussion of the non-aspectual verbs taking IP complements. The first thing to note is that in Hausa, a small Pro can also be controlled. In the examples in (25) below, we can see that the subject position of the embedded clause is occupied by Pro which is coindexed with its identifier(=Agr in INFL). This Pro is controlled by the subject *Audù* in (25a), by the object *Lādi* in (25b). It is then clear that the [NP, IP] of the embedded clause is controlled by an argument in the matrix clause. This is possible due to the fact that the Pro is fully identified by Agr, which happens to refer to an argument higher in the structure. If the Agr in the embedded clause does not have the same set of features of identification with that of the matrix clause, Control is impossible from either the subject or the object of the higher clause, except where there is an IMPLICIT ARGUMENT (see Rizzi 1986, Hyams 1986, Brody and Manzini 1986, and Yalwa 1992) in the matrix clause as exemplified in (26b):

(25) a. Audùᵢ yā ƙōƙàrtā[CP Ø [IP Proᵢ ya tafi]]
Audu he-pst. try he-subj. leave/go
'Audu tried to leave/go'

b. Audùᵢ yā shā-kàn Lādiⱼ [CP Ø ----
Audù he-pst. persuade Lādi
[IP Proⱼ ta tafi]]
she-subj. leave/go
'Audu persuaded/convinced Ladi to leave/go'

(26) a. Audùᵢ yā ƙōƙàrtā (IA)ⱼ [CP Ø ----
Audù he-pst. try (they)
[IP Proⱼ sù tafi gidā]]
they-subj. go home
'Audu tried for (them) to go home'

b. Audùᵢ yā ƙōƙàrtā **ma-sùⱼ** [CP Ø ---
Audù he-pst. try **dat-them**
[IP Pro su tafi gidā]]
they-subj. go home
'Audu tried for them to go home'

In these examples, Pro is governed by AGR which makes it impossible to get a big PRO. The argument that controls the Pro depends very much on the lexical requirements of the verb. In other words, the C- and/or S- selection of the verb concerned Therefore, I assume that in these cases. INFL does not have to raise obligatorily. Similarly, I assume that the Pro in these structures is actually a pronominal and it is subject to the Binding Principle B (see Yalwa 1992 for extensive discussion on this issue).

I now return to the main concern of this paper. That is the Control of the null subject of the complements of Hausa aspectual verbs. First let me briefly give examples of the aspectual verbs I mentioned right from the begining of the paper that take sentential complements. Some of these aspectual verbs include the verbs: (a) **isā** " suffice/be capable/be able"; (b) **iyâ** " be able/can"; (c) **rigā** already/have done"; (d) **bari** "let"; (e) **sābâ (dà)** "used to"; (f) **dâmu (dà)** " worry about/disturb"; (g) **ràbu dà** "not do for some time"; and verbs of saying and liking such as (h) **cè** "say (i) **sô** 'want/like/love"; (j) **gayâ** "tell" etc. These verbs prefer to have the subject of the embedded clause to have a coreferential interpretation with an NP in the matrix clause Consider the sentences in (27-28) as illustrations of the obligatory Control found with these predicates:

(27) a. Audui yā bař Bàlāj [IP Proj ya tafi gidā]
Audù he-pst let/allow Bàlā (he)-subj. go home
'Audu let/allowed Balā to go home'

b. Gwamnâi yā isa [IP Proi yà yankè hukunci]
governor he-pst be capable (he)-sub. cut verdict
'The governor(suffices)/is capable to give a verdict

c. Mālàmi yā sà ɗālibāj [IP Proj tà yi aikî]
teacher he-pst make student she-subj. do work
'The teacher made the (female) student do the work'

d. Sāniᵢ zâ-i iyâ [IP Proᵢ yà yi aikī-n yau]
Sani Ifut-he be able he-subj. do work-ref. today
'Sani will be able/can do the work today'

(28) *a. Audùᵢ yā baɗ Bàlāⱼ [IP Proᵢ yà tàfi gidā]
Audù he-pst. let Bàlā he-subj. go home
'Audu let/allowed Bàlā to go home"

*b. Gwamnâᵢ yā isa ----
governor he-pst. be capable/suffice
[IP Bàlāⱼ ya yanke hukunci]
Bàlā he-sub. cut verdict
'The governor(suffice)/is capable for Bàlā to give a verdict'

*c. Sāniᵢ zâ-i iyâ [IP Bàlāⱼ yà yi aiki-n]
Sani Ifut-he be able Bàlā he-subj. do work-ref.
'Sani will be able/capable for Bàlā to do the work

It seems to me that the obligatory coreference observed in these sentences has something to do with the semantics/ theta grids of the verbs as indicated earlier. But when we turn to the Hausa aspectual verbs and also some motion verbs taking VP/gerund complements, we will see that the Control we find with verbs like *ƙōƙārtā* "try" is also observed here.[7] In Hausa, the raising analysis is really not easy to explain, since there is no infinitive in Hausa. Aspectual verbs as well as motion and Control verbs in Hausa may take nominalized complements or sentential complements depending on the type of the predicate used (see Yalwa forthcoming). Intuitively, one can infer that the matrix subject is the same subject that has performed the ACTIVITY/EVENT contained in the embedded complement. For instance, in (29) it seems that evidence for Control is much higher than that of raising:

(29) a. Audùᵢ yā sō [NP PROᵢ tàfiyâ gidā]
Audù he-past want leaving/going home
'Audu wanted to go home/going home'

b. Dirēbā-n$_1$ yā daina [$_{NP}$ PRO$_i$ tūka mōtā-r]
driver-def. he-pst. stop/cease driving car-ref.
'The driver stopped driving the car'

c. Shâgâri$_i$ yā cigabā da[$_{NP}$ PRO$_i$ zāmā shūgàba-n-mu]
Shâgâri he-pst. continue with becoming leader-of-us
'Shâgâri continued to be our leader'

In these examples the matrix subject is the same as the embedded one. What we need is to coindex them at S-structure and nothing more can be added. Note that the matrix subject position can take different types of NPs. The subjects can be generic, specific, plural or sentential. The subject can also be null. The examples in (30) indicate that lexical NPs can occur as subjects of aspectual verbs:

(30) a. Bàlā$_i$ yā fāra [$_{NP}$ PRO$_i$ màllakà-r mōtōcī/mōtâ]
Bàlā he-pst. begin owning-of cars/car
'Bàlā began to own/have cars/a car'

b. Littattàfa-n Lārabcī$_i$ sun dainà ----
books-of Arabic they-pst. cease/stop
[$_{NP}$ PRO$_i$ sâmuwā à Los Angeles]
being available in Los Angeles
'Arabic books ceased to be available/found in L.A.'
'Arabic books can no longer be found in L.A.'

c. Wâsa-n dambe$_i$ yā cigàba dà ---
game-of boxing it-pst. continue with
[$_{NP}$ PRO$_i$ sāmù-n fari-n jinī à Kanô]
getting-of popularity in Kanô
'Boxing continued to be gaining popularity in Kanô

d. Farfēsâ$_i$ yā cigàba dà [$_{NP}$ PRO$_i$ sāmù-n farin jini]
professor he-pst. continue with getting-of popularity
'The professor continued to be popular/liked' or
'The professor continued getting popularity'

e. Riga-r ruwā$_i$ tā daina [$_{NP}$ PRO$_i$ sayuwā a Kanō]
gown-of rain it-pst. cease/stop being sold in Kanō
'Rain coat stopped to be/ceased being sellable in Kanō'

These examples seem to indicate that any lexical NP whether it is concrete, specific, generic, or plural/collective NPs can occur as subjects of Hausa aspectual verbs with no constraint on what might occur in the complement.[8]

5. Conclusion.

In this paper I tried to describe and provide an analysis on the complementation pattern of Hausa aspectual verbs. I have provided some instances of aspectual verb complementation that has not been given attention or mentioned in passing in some of the previous works on the syntax of Hausa aspectual verbs. I also tried to show that syntactically, the phenomenon of Control in this type of complementation exist in Hausa. That is the so-called small Pro and big PRO in Hausa can be Controlled. And I argued that big PRO is not available in IPs with morphological INFLs (i.e. whether it is +tense + Agr= all other TAMs, or -tense +Agr = subjunctive). The [NP, IP] position can be governed. The big PRO is found only in clauses lacking lexical INFL such as the complements of aspectual verbs and the NP/VP complements of controlled predicates. It is hoped that this work will stimulate other people working on Hausa syntax and semantics to do more research on this poorly understood group of Hausa verbs.

NOTES

* Part of this paper was presented at the 23rd ACAL held at Michigan State University, East Lancing in 1992. Another version of it was also

presented at the UCLA department of Linguistics Colloquium in May 1993, where most of the material in this paper was presented and discussed. I thank the participants for the stimulating discussion that led to this work. I would like to particulaly thank Professor R. G. Schuh (the Chair of my dissertation committee) for the valuable comments on the issues discussed in this paper. This paper would not have been possisble without his encouragement and support. All remaining errors and omissions in the paper are the responsibility of the author.

[1] In TGG as well as in GB, it is assumed that aspectual and modal verbs do not assign theta role to the subject position of their complement clauses. Some linguists like Perlmutter (1970) argue that aspectual verbs like '*begin*' may be transitive or intransitive. The transitive one being a control verb while, the intransitive one a raising verb. But this dual analysis is rejected by Newmeyer (1975) who considers only raising analysis for English auxiliary and modal verbs. I am not concern with the controversy of whether the structures are control or raising. I am interested in providing the facts only. Of course, in some cases I will discuss such issues should there be any need for that.

[2] According to Parsons 1981:261, 'a subjunctive can be used in place of a verbal noun .... at least the accusative ones'. He cites the following examples.

(i) a. Proⱼ a-n sà sujⱼ [Proⱼ su yi nōmā]
Imp.-pst. make them 3pl.-subj. do farming
'They were made to farm/to do farming'

b. Proⱼ yā fārà [Proⱼ ya yi zāgī]
3ms-pst. begin/start 3ms-subj. do insult
'He began to insult/abuse'

c. Proⱼ yā kōyâ wà da-n-sa [Proⱼ ya yi sātā]
3ms-pst. teach dat. son-of-him 3ms-subj. do theft
'He taught his son how to still'

d. Proⱼ sun ki [Proⱼ sù yi aikī]
3pl.-pst. refuse/fail 3pl-subj. do work
'They refused to work'

While I find the sentences in (a and c-d) to be grammatical, I find (b) somewhat unusual. In my dialect, such an aspectual verb can only govern a VP or NP complement with this TAM (cf. Newman and Schuh 1974 and Schuh 1985 for discussion of this term). One possible instance where one can say (b) (according to one consultant) that is where a child for instance is just beginning to learn how to insult others. There are however some aspectual verbs that can take subjunctive complements. These include **sābâ** 'used to', **nêmā** (in the sense of *try*), **isâ** 'be capable of', **dâmū** 'be bothered' and **rābū** 'not do for some time'. For examples (cf. Jaggar 1977:82). With **iyâ** 'be able', which Jaggar

included in his examples. I find the sentence acceptable only if the TAM of the matrix clause is the 'future' especially second future, or habitual, and, much better if the subjunctive clause is followed by a kind of adverbial clause as in:

(ii) a. Pro$_i$ yâ iyâ [Pro$_i$ ya rina ƙyallâ-n]
he-2fut be able he-subj dye cloth-ref
'He can/may be able to dye the cloth'

b. *Pro$_i$ yā iyâ [Pro$_i$ ya rina ƙyallâ-n]
he-pst be able he-subj dye cloth-ref
'He was able to dye the cloth'

c. ?Pro$_i$ yakàn iyâ [Pro$_i$ ya rina ƙyallàn lidan lōkaci bai ƙurê ba
'He is/able (habitually) to dye the cloth when it is not too late'

These examples illustrate that we need to study more about the syntax of the relationships between the TAMs and aspectual verbs. Some of the aspectual verbs differ with others w.r.t. the semantics and type of complements they take. I leave this issue here.

3 Note further that in (10), if the verbs are omitted, the expected meanings will change. That is it will not mean "making/performing" rather, it will mean liking, forgeting or hating what is described in the NP-object complement. In (11) however, the omitable verbs are all expected in this slot. And there will be no change in meaning when they are omitted. It seems that omission is possible when the the action in the complement is a kind of a description of the person (i.e. agent) indicating his/her day to day habitual action or where the previous context is known by the addressee. This is why the VP as a whole can be omitted as in the following examples:

a. Mai tuwō-n tā fārâ [$_{VP}$ (V NP) da wuri]
owner-of tuwō-def she began/started with early
'The tuwō-cook or preparer/maker began/started early'

b. Shātā yā gamâ [$_{VP}$ (V NP) dab da [$_{NP}$ zuwa-n 'yan rawàn]]
Shātā he finished just about/near coming-of dancers
'Shātā finished just before the coming of the dancers'

c. Mālàmi-n yā gamâ [$_{VP}$ (V NP) kâfin [$_{NP}$ zuwà-n dâlibà-n]]
teacher-def he finished before coming-of students-ref
'The teacher finished before the coming of the students'

4 If, as Tuller (1986) argues, the subject positions of these predicates are [$_{NP}$ e], in that there is nothing occupying these positions, and they are non-Theta positions, one would expect an argument somewhere in the embedded clause to freely move into that position. Similarly, one may also try to resort to a kind of ad hoc explanation by stipulating that

when an NP is moved into the subject position, then there is an obligatory rule that will delete the indefinite subject, *an*, and replace it with an appropriate agreement marker. But this could not explain why we cannot derive (b) from (a):

a. [IP [e] a-n dôki Binta]
Imp.-Pst. hit Binta
'Someone hit Binta or Binta was hit'

b. *Binta$_i$ tâ/a-n dôki t_i
*'Binta (she)/(one) hit (her)'

5 There are however some problems when the TAM of the main clause is continuative or when the complement of the aspectual verb is stative. The following examples show that both continuative and perfective TAMs can be used in the matrix clause whether the complement is a VP or NP (no matter what the verbal predicate is in the complement). It must be mentioned that the sentences with the perfective TAM are much better than those with the continuative.

(i) ?a Audu yanâ fâra [$_{PRO}$ sâmun gidâ]
Audu he-is beginning/starting to get a house

?b Audu yanâ fâra [$_{PRO}$ mallaka-r gidâ]
'Audu he-is beginning/starting to own a house

c Audu yanâ fâra [$_{PRO}$ gina/ginin gidâ]
Audu he-is beginning/starting to build/building a house

Here, we can see that gina 'to build' and gini 'building' express ACTION (a situation involving a change), whereas sâmû 'getting/having' and mallakâ 'having/possessing' express STATE (a situation with no change). Predicates with stative expressions whose matrix TAM is progressive are much better if followed by certain adverbial expressions as in the following:

(ii) a Manajôjin kamfanin$_i$ sunâ fâra [PRO$_i$ sâmun [$_{NP}$ gidâjen sù$_i$/kânsu$_i$ [$_{AP}$ (bâyan shêkarâ biyar)]]]
'The managers of the company start/begin getting (owning) their houses after five years'

b. Manajôjin kamfanin$_i$ sun fâra [$_{NP_i}$ sâmun [$_{NP}$ gidâjen sù$_i$/kânsu$_i$ [$_{AP}$ (bâyan shêkarâ biyar)]]].
'The managers of the company started/began getting (owning) their houses after five years'

If the embedded predicate is a stative verb, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. Consider the following:

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(iii) *a Balā yā daina [PRO kwance/tsaye/zaune]
Balā he-pst cease/stop being lying/standing/sitting

?*b Balā yā kāsa [PRO kwance/tsaye/zaune]
Balā he-is unable (be in a state of) lying/standing/sitting

This is one of the instances where aspectual verbs differ from the continuative aspect marker which may take a stative verb/noun as in the following example (cf. Tuller 1986:466):

(iv) Balā yanā [PRO [VP V[e] kwance/tsaye/zaune]]
Balā he-is (in a state of) lying/standing/sitting

Note that if the statives are conjoined (in certain stylistic expressions), the sentence becomes grammatical as in the following examples:

(v) a. Balā duk yā kāsa [PRO zaune] kuma
Balā adv he-pst be unable be seated and
[Pro yā kāsa [PRO tsaye]]
he-pst be unable be standing
Balā was unable to sit and was unable to stand (statively)
Balā did'nt know what to do'

b. Balā yā kāsa [PRO zaune da tsaye]
Balā was unable to sit and stand up' i e
Balā did'nt know what to do

6 I must mention that I assume the (extended) projection principle as in Chomsky (1981 and 1986). I also agree with Chomsky's (1986) proposal that there is an agreement between the SPEC and head where he assumes that they share an abstract Ø-feature F, between the specifier of XP and its head. This relation is formulated as in the following:

SPEC - head Agreement:

In [X' YP ... [X' ... X]].
Where X agrees with YP

7 Note that in English, the differences in semantic selection between raising and control structures in infinitival embedded clauses is best exemplified in the following sentences:

a. [Audu has gone [COMP[PRO to see the manager]]]
b. [Audu is going [Ø[t to see the manager]]]

In (a) the control structure, the PRO is coindexed with the D-struture subject Audu at S-structure. In (b) however, the D-structure subject of the embedded clause is raised/moved to the subject position of the matrix clause after the S-bar deletion leaving a trace (cf. Lamiroy 1987).

[8] The examples below indicate that this is not so, in that certain predicates in the VP are incompatible with certain types of matrix subject NPs but still I assume that this has nothing to do with the referential properties of the PRO

*a Wāsan kwallō yā fāra [PRO sāmu-n dāđi à L.A]
Soccer it-pst begin/start getting-of enjoyment in L.A
Soccer began to enjoy (= be accepted by people) in L.A

b Rīgar ruwā tā daina [PRO ?*ɓatuwā/ɓatà a Kanô]
Rain coat it stopped/ceased to disappear in Kanô

It is not clear to me whether the problem here has something to do with the relationship between the matrix subjects and the predicates in the VP/NP or, the problem has to do with the semantics of the aspectual verbs and the mentioned subject, in the sense that the former constraint the types of predicates that can occur as its argument

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